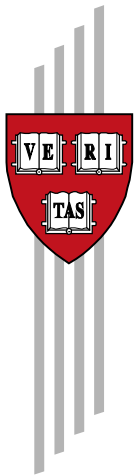


Governance and the Challenge of Development through Sports: A Framework for Action

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CID Working Paper No. 323
July 2016

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Working Papers

Center for International Development
at Harvard University

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July 2016

Research supported by the International Center for Sports Security (ICSS). All views and contents are those of the author alone and should not be seen to reflect the views of the ICSS.

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Introduction

Previous papers such as Russell, Barrios & Andrews (2016), Guerra (2016), and Russell, Tokman, Barrios & Andrews (2016) have aimed to provide an empirical view into the sports economy. This proves to be a difficult task, given the many definitions of ‘sports’ and data deficiencies and differences in the sports domain (between contexts and over time). The emerging view in these previous papers provides interesting information about the sports sector, however: it shows, for instance, that different contexts have differently intensive sports sectors, and that sports activities overlap with other parts of the economy. This kind of information is useful for policymakers in governments trying to promote sports activities and use sports to advance the cause of broad-based social and economic development.

This paper is written with these policymakers in mind. It intends to offer a guide such agents can use in constructing sports policies focused on achieving development goals (what we call *development through sports*¹), and discusses ways in which these policymakers can employ empirical evidence to inform such policies.

The paper draws on the concept of ‘governance’ to structure its discussion. Taking a principal-agent approach to the topic, governance is used here to refer to the exercise of authority, by one set of agents, on behalf of another set of agents, to achieve specific objectives. Building on such a definition, the paper looks at the way governmental bodies engage in sports when acting to further the interests of citizens, most notably using political and executive authority to promote social and economic development. This focus on governance for development *through* sports (asking why and how governments use authority to promote sports for broader social and economic development objectives²) is different from *governance of sports* (which focuses on how governments and other bodies exercise authority to control and manage sports activities themselves), which others explore in detail but we will not discuss.³

The paper has five main sections. A first section defines what we mean by ‘governance’ in the context of this study. It describes an ends-means approach to the topic—where we emphasize understanding the goals of governance policy (or governance ends) and then thinking about the ways governments try to achieve such goals (the governance means). The discussion concludes by asking what the governance ends and means are in a development through sports agenda. The question is expanded to ask whether one can use

¹ This terminology comes from Houlihan and White, who identify the “tension between *development through sport* (with the emphasis on social objectives and sport as a tool for human development) and *development of sport* (where sport was valued for its own sake)” (Houlihan & White 2002, 4).

² The paper relates to a vibrant literature on this topic, which investigates the reasons and ways governments support the sports sector (classic and recent studies in this literature include Adams and Harris (2014), Gerretsen and Rosentraub (2015), Grix and Carmichael (2012), Grix (2015), Hallman and Petry (2013), Houlihan (2002, 2005, 2016), Houlihan and White (2002), Hylton (2013), Koski and Lämsä (2015), Schulenkorf and Adair (2013), and Vuori et al. (1995).

³ Work on the *governance of sports* assesses the way international entities like FIFA and the IOC work with national and local governmental bodies to oversee, regulate, and otherwise manage sports like football and the Olympic movement, using authority to create and implement rules on behalf of those involved in the sport itself. See, for instance Forster (2006), Geeraert (2013), and Misener (2014).

empirical evidence to reflect on such ends and means. One sees this, for instance, in the use of ‘governance indicators’ and ‘governance dashboards’ in the international development domain. A second section details the research method we used to address these questions. This mixed method approach started by building case studies of sports policy interventions in various national and sub-national governments to obtain a perspective on what these policies tend to involve (across space and time). It then expanded into an analysis of sports policies in a broad set of national and sub-national governments to identify common *development through sport* ends and means. Finally, it involved experimentation with selected data sources to show how the ends and means might be presented in indicators and dashboards—to offer evidence-based windows into development through sports policy regimes.

Based on this research, sections three and four discuss the governance ends and means commonly pursued and employed by governments in this kind of policy process. The sections identify three common ends (or goals)—inclusion, economic growth, and health—and a host of common means—like the provision of sports facilities, organized activities, training support, financial incentives, and more—used in fostering a development through sports agenda. Data are used from local authorities in England to show the difficulties of building indicators reflecting such policy agendas, but also to illustrate the potential value of evidence-based dashboards of these policy regimes. It needs to be stated that this work is more descriptive than analytical, showing how data can be used to provide an evidence-based perspective on this domain rather than formally testing hypotheses about the relationship between specific policy means and ends. In this regard, the work is more indicative of potential applications rather than prescriptive. A conclusion summarizes the discussion and presents a model for a potential dashboard of governance in a development through sports policy agenda.

Section 1. Defining Governance in this Context

Governance is a ubiquitous term in modern parlance. It has been used in many contexts, including the international development arena (Kaufman et al. 2006) and the sports sector (Andrews and Harrington 2016; Geeraert 2013). Its many uses recently caused the prominent political scientist Frank Fukuyama to ask ‘What is Governance?’ (Fukuyama 2013). The question relates to the many definitions of governance that exist and the many governance indicators that are now in place. The variations in content one sees in these indicators suggest the collective community of governance observers still do not agree on what is being (or should be) measured. This kind of variation makes it vital to define what we mean by governance in the context of this paper. This is especially important given that we reflect on the topic at the intersection of two literatures—development and sports.

The lack of clarity about ‘what governance is’ should probably not be surprising given the relative newness of the concept. Google’s ngram viewer shows that the word’s use (in published books) emerged in only the last three decades, having limited play before then. Interestingly, the word’s use started growing in American English more than a decade

before the same happened in British English, Spanish, German, or French.⁴ The concept is thus newer outside of the USA, and is being refashioned as it travels across new domains and encounters new applications. The overlapping sports-development arena is one of these.

One of the most prominent uses of the term—at least in the literature on economic development—refers to governance in the nation-state as 'the exercise of civic authority by governments to influence outcomes of broad civic interest' (see Andrews et al. 2010, which builds on Kaufmann et al. 1999, 1; Michalski et al. 2001, 9). This understanding builds upon the literature on publicly traded companies, where corporate governance is similarly defined. Tirole (2001, 4), for instance, defines corporate governance as “the design of institutions that induce or force management to internalize the welfare of stakeholders.” Consider the basic theoretical elements of governance implied in this definition: It focuses on (i) how mechanisms regulate (ii) the way that authority is exercised by one set of agents (iii) who act on behalf of a group of principals (iv) with the goal of maximizing the welfare of these principals.

Combining these elements, we present governance as the processes by which specific agents exercise delegated authority to affect the welfare of the principals allocating the authority. *Put simply, and in context of governmental bodies involved in development, governance involves governments using authority derived from or allocated by citizens to produce, facilitate and influence outcomes of interest to citizens (and particularly those outcomes that require collective engagement).*

This definition has parallels in political science and public management literatures. Kooiman's (2003, 4) characterization of governing, for example, points to “the totality of interactions, in which public and private actors participate, aimed at solving societal problems or creating societal opportunities.” Similarly, Hill and Lynn (2004, 4) describe public sector governance as “Regimes of laws, rules, judicial decisions, and administrative practices that constrain, prescribe, and enable the provision of publicly supported goods and services through associations with agents in public and private sectors.” The idea of delegated authority emerges across these definitions, as does the focus on outcomes as the purpose of delegated authority. (Consider the use of language like ‘maximizing stakeholder welfare’, ‘solving societal problems or creating societal opportunities’, and ensuring the ‘provision of publicly supported goods and services’). In the governmental context, one is dealing with citizens (as principals) allocating civic authority to governments (as agents) with the explicit goal of maximizing various kinds of social welfare that require pooled resources and collective engagement (as the outcomes).

In this study, we are particularly interested in the decisions governments make about promoting sports for broader development purposes. A governance approach to such question causes us to ask a two-part question: Why would governments exercise their delegated authority to promote sports for development? How would governments exercise such authority in this direction?

⁴https://books.google.com/ngrams/graph?content=governance&year_start=1900&year_end=2000&corpus=18&smoothing=3&share=&direct_url=t1%3B%2Cgovernance%3B%2Cc0

1.1. Going beyond ‘good governance’ to specified ends and relevant means

Governments can use their delegated authority in many ways, such as promoting (or otherwise engaging with) sports or whatever area of society is chosen for influence. Authority could be used to garner and allocate resources, or to build capacities (human and physical), or to regulate behavior via laws or force, or to convene and coordinate private and nonprofit agents around specific objectives, and more. These are the means of political and administrative governance, and these means matter. Effective means can facilitate effective engagements by governments in their social and economic contexts, promoting improved welfare and development of citizens. In contrast, less effective means could facilitate less than effective engagement and failed policies, leading to poor welfare and insufficient development for citizens. The means in place could also foster incentives for accountability and responsiveness in public organizations, or they could facilitate weak accountability and even corruption by governments.

The quality of governance cannot be assessed by simply looking at the means (processes or mechanisms in place or even on the specifics of how authority is exercised), however. While governance is influenced by what Tirole (2001, 4) calls “institutions that induce or force management to internalize the welfare of stakeholders”, particular sets of institutional forms or governance means do not necessarily and always *indicate or reflect* good governance better than others. Similarly, while it is easy to agree with Hill and Lynn (2004, 4) that governance systems comprise “Regimes of laws, rules, judicial decisions, and administrative practices that constrain, prescribe, and enable” service provision, it is not clear that the presence or absence of particular processes and mechanisms necessarily *indicates* whether governance is good or bad.

Governance means (institutions, processes, and such) that ascribe and distribute and shape authority can vary across countries and sectors for legitimate, contextual reasons, most notably reflecting the different roles and understandings of government in countries (Andrews 2010; Grindle 2004).⁵ It is spurious, therefore, to identify one set of means as generally ‘good’. Instead, we argue here that governance is ‘good’ when authority is exercised through means that produce the ends citizens require in specific contexts and at specific times. Some means might be more effective than others in facilitating specified outcomes in specific contexts, but these can only be identified after considering the ends that governments are authorized to pursue or to facilitate by and for citizens (directly or indirectly) and then thinking about what it takes to achieve such. The burden of governance functionality (ends) must lead thinking about governance forms (means). In other words, one ought to think about what governments *should do* before one thinks about what governments *should look like*.

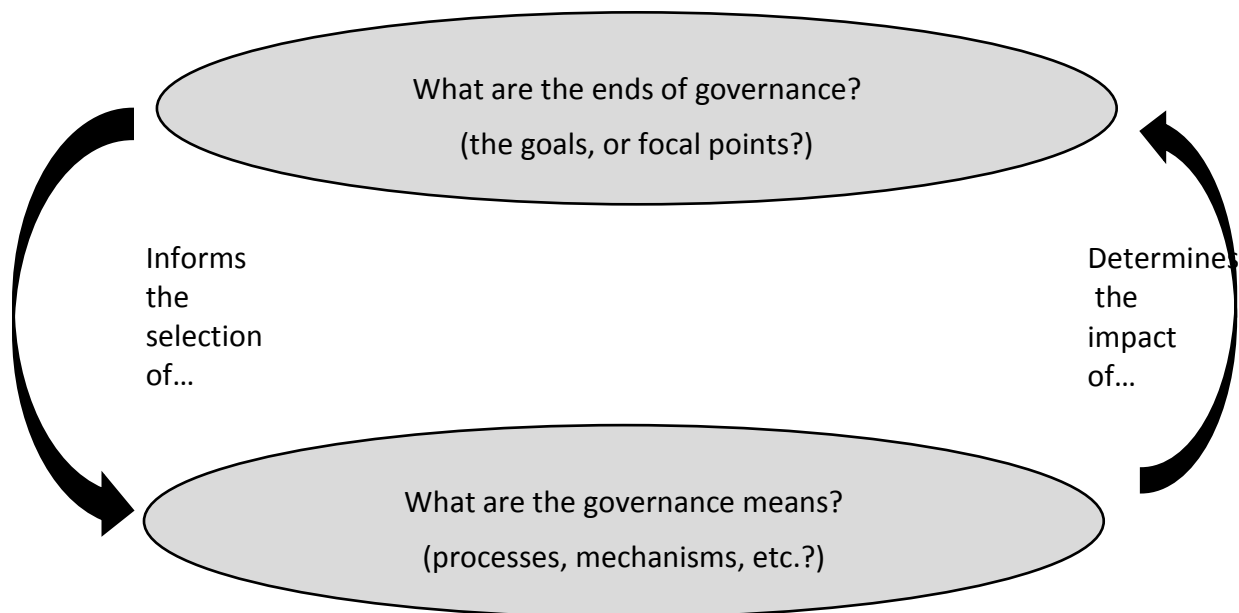
We call this *an ends-means approach to looking at governance*. It is inspired in part by Bovaird and Löffler (2003, 316), who define governance as, “the ways in which stakeholders interact with each other in order to influence the outcomes of public policies.”

⁵ The same point is made in this website which advertises research findings from the 2014 Hertie School Governance Report. The website is titled, ‘Administrative capacities vary immensely within the EU’. <http://www.hertie-school.org/mediaandevents/press/news/news-details/article/administrative-capacities-vary-immensely-within-the-eu-1/>

It has also been inspired by Fukuyama (2013, 5) who argues that, “governance is about the performance of agents in carrying out the wishes of principals ... [which means that] governance is thus about execution.” The work is also influenced by the governance work being done at the Hertie School in Berlin. The school’s 2013 Governance Report notes that, “governance is about how well those who are legitimately entrusted to do so manage public problems” (Anheier and List 2013, 1). The same report (Anheier and List 2013, 1) presents some examples of governance as problem solving: “Does the international community make progress in regulating financial markets or combatting poverty? Does the EU succeed in reducing sovereign debt problems? Do national and local governments respond adequately to public debt? Do corporate leaders manage businesses in economically and socially responsible ways? And does civil society contribute to public problem solving?” The report argues that, “A system of good governance is one that deals with these and other matters of public concern—be they education or health care, national security or infrastructure policies, the environment or labour markets—in effective, efficient ways.”

These are the kinds of questions that should drive any work on governance in the development realm and in respect of sports and the sports sector. Concerns about ends must drive concerns about means, not the other way around (as shown in Figure 4.1). This is because governance is about ensuring governments adopt the means needed to produce the ends—outcomes and associated functionality—demanded and needed by citizens (whether citizens allocate authority to the state through a democratic process or cede authority through less democratic means).

Figure 4.1. An ends-means approach to governance, sports and development



Source: Authors’ representation, based on Andrews (2014).

Given such an approach, the key questions we are interested in for this paper are simple:

- What are the ends that drive governments when pursuing development through sport

(the overarching goals they are focused on achieving)?

- What are the means that governments use when pursuing development through sport (the processes, mechanisms, and such that governments are typically authorized to use in such policy regimes)?

Answers to these questions could help policymakers in governments better choose why and how they structure their development through sport agendas. We aim to go beyond conceptual discussion, however, as most of these policymakers are less interested in answers ‘in principle’ than they are ‘in practice’. Governance is, after all, a practical process and needs to be informed by practical realities and evidence. Therefore, we ask a third question before moving on:

- Is it possible to provide an evidence-based view into the progress of a *development through sport* policy regime, and assess the quality of governance in it?

The question could be better phrased, but simply asks whether it is possible to use data in reflecting on the quality of governance in this conversation. Indicators and dashboards are commonly used in other applications of ‘governance’ in development to inform countries and localities on how well they are being governed, where they have governance weaknesses, and more (Kaufmann et al. 1999; Hertie School 2013). Indicators are single-number representations of governance conditions where a figure is used to show the quality of different countries’ performance relative to others. Consider, for instance, the relative performance of various countries on ‘voice and accountability,’ one aspect of national governance assessed in the Worldwide Governance Indicators (WGIs) (shown in Table 4.1). The indicators are useful to compare performance over time and place, but offer little more detail as to why performance varies or what can be done to improve such. Dashboards, on the other hand, offer multi-number representations of governance conditions—that show the relative performance or quality of a wide variety of objectives and/or processes (as in Table 4.2 below, of South Africa’s relative performance—benchmarked against other African countries—on a host of different governance ends and means (See Andrews 2014)). This kind of dashboard is more detailed than the indicator, and offers a less comparative window into performance. However it is arguably more useful for countries trying to develop policy (given that they can see where they are performing better or worse than comparators).

Table 4.1. Select countries’ performance on Voice and Accountability (min= - 2.5; max = + 2.5)

	Argentina	Austria	Bhutan	Botswana	Brazil
2004	0.34	1.46	-0.92	0.73	0.37
2009	0.24	1.42	-0.51	0.42	0.49
2014	0.29	1.41	-0.14	0.44	0.41

Source: *Worldwide Governance Indicators*.

Table 4.2. South Africa’s governance dashboard: compared with select international averages

Defense, Public Safety, Law and Order	Public Infrastructure	Human Development and Environmental Management	Economic Progress and Adaptation	Participation, Rights, and Mobility
Conflict and threats	Trade/transport infrastructure	Citizens have sufficient food	Citizens enjoy stable prices	Citizens (esp. children) registration
Secure borders	Water/sanitation infrastructure	Children are learning	Employment	Economic participation
Citizens feel safe	Power infrastructure	Reading and skills levels	Debt levels	Inequality
Citizens and violent crime	Communications infrastructure	Under five/maternal health	Affordable financing available	Children’s rights and protection
Citizens and road safety	Housing infrastructure	Systems to address health needs	Economic growth	Citizens enjoy fundamental rights
Property rights are protected	Urban infrastructure	Air and water pollution	Trade	Citizens freedom to move
Civil and criminal system	Rural infrastructure	Biodiversity concerns	Diversification/ innovation	Foreigners entry and movement

Human Resource Capacity and Management	Financial Resource Capacity/Collection	Spending and Policy Implementation	Integrity, Accountability, and Confidence
HR numbers	Finance sufficiency, fiscal contract	Policy clarity	Laws and regulations clarity, consistency
HR transparency	Tax process quality	Public spending clarity and gaps	Laws and regulations gaps
HR skill appropriateness	Tax policy quality	Public bills paid, contracts upheld	Anticorruption legislation gaps
HR motivation	Citizens tax respect	Public spending procurement quality	Administrative process gaps
HR autonomy and learning	Debt process quality	Public spending irregularities checked	Citizens hold governments accountable
HR citizens respect and impression	Government creditworthiness	Data collection	Checks and balances
HR citizens trust stakeholders	Transparency over revenues from rents	Government innovation	Citizen confidence

Comparatively weak	Comparatively below avge.	Comparatively average	Comparatively above avge.	Comparatively strong	Insufficient data
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Source: Authors analysis based on Andrews (2014).

The question we ask is whether it is possible to create governance-like indicators or dashboards to use in informing practical policies related to *development through sports*?

Section 2. Our Research Strategy

We started this research in an exploratory fashion, examining the evolution of sports policies over time in selected national and sub-national governments. This work led to the creation of detailed draft case studies for England, France, Spain, Barcelona, and Madrid, Manchester and Sheffield. We also studied Durban and Cape Town in the run up to the 2010 soccer World Cup. These case studies gave us an initial qualitative view on the

reasons why governments pursue sports policies and the mechanisms governments employ in these policies. This view helped us establish basic hypotheses about governance ends and means in the sector.

We built on this qualitative view by building a less detailed but more expansive database of sports policies in 40 national and 40 sub-national governments.⁶ Through this, we aimed to get a more quantitative perspective of the common governmental ends and means in the domain. The research process involved gathering and then examining sports policy documents from the governments (including summary documents produced by entities like the European Union and United Nations, and research reports and articles that synthesized the sports policies). We recorded descriptions of policy goals and mechanisms reflected in these documents, and then identified different categories of these goals and tools in each government. This led to the determination of ‘common ends’ and ‘common means’ in the governance of development through sports. The analysis was conducted by one researcher working manually, so there are potential limits to the reliability of the findings (given that the researcher may have missed some important points or categorized language in a biased manner). We are not too concerned about the possibility of these limits, however, especially as the research was intended to be exploratory and descriptive. Moreover the emergent patterns are extremely prominent and we have sufficient analytical evidence to support them.

This analysis provided a narrative about why and how governments pursue sports policy. This was the basic ends-means narrative of governance in the development through sports agenda we sought, given the initial set of questions asked earlier. Given the narrative, we began looking for data to use in constructing an evidence-based method to inform such agendas. We settled on data from English local authorities, and employed these data to demonstrate both the difficulties in identifying a single-number indicator and the potential of building a multi-number dashboard.

Section 3. The Governance ‘Ends’ in a Development Through Sports Agenda

Organized sport is a relatively new concept, having emerged *en mass* in only the past hundred and fifty years in Europe. Government engagement in sport is even more recent, with most national governments in the (currently) developed nations only introducing

⁶ The national government sample included Argentina, Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, England, Estonia, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Germany, Ghana, Hungary, Ireland, Latvia, Lebanon, Malta, Mexico, Mozambique, the Netherlands, Norway, Palau, Palestine, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Samoa, Scotland, Sierra Leone, Slovakia, Slovenia, South Africa, Spain, Sri Lanka, Switzerland, Tanzania, Thailand, Uganda, Vanuatu, Wales, and Zambia. The sub-national government sample included Bangalore, Bangkok, Barcelona, Birmingham, Bogota, Boston, Buenos Aires, Cape Town, Christchurch, Delhi, Dubai (included as a city-state), Durban, Florida, Geneva, Genoa, Hague, Johannesburg, Liverpool, Los Angeles, Madrid, Manchester, Manitoba, Maputo, Marseille, Melbourne, Mexico City, Munich, Nairobi, Plymouth (UK), Porto, Porto Alegre, Portsmouth (UK), Qingdao, Rio, San Juan, Shandong, Sheffield, Sindh State, Taipei City Government, and the Western Cape Province. We have not referenced all of the policy documents used in analysis for these 80 governments, but the documents were all produced after 2006 (in the ten years prior to the current study) and are thus contemporary.

formal sports policies or sports-related ministries, departments or agencies in about the 1960s. Many of these governments began engaging in sports as part of the expansion of the welfare state and public sectors in this period. These governments were responding to social and economic problems related to the global and regional growth experience at that time, and saw sports as a way of addressing various broader concerns. These concerns were varied, but tended to center on maintaining social and political cohesion and identity—key challenges in what were rapidly growing and changing economies—or fostering economic growth itself.

It is interesting and important to note that governments did not start engaging in sport ‘for sport’s sake’ in any context we examined. Governments typically saw sports as an area through which they could achieve other objectives. These objectives are hardly static or even shared across governments, however, with our work showing significant differences in focus across governments at any point in time. Some governments speak of ‘sport for all’ at the same time that others speak of ‘elite sports’ for instance. Some governments emphasize social inclusion as a ‘goal’ of sports policy at the same time that others emphasize using sport to attract new business interests. Beyond these inter-jurisdictional differences, we also saw major inter-temporal variation in the focus of national sports policies in all the cases reviewed.

The United Kingdom provides possibly the best example of this. The country’s sport policies emerged in the 1960s as the people were struggling with challenges associated with economic growth and social expansion (Green 2006, Houlihan and Lindsay 2012, Jefferys 2015). Sport was used as a mechanism for inclusion, and to foster local identity. The 1970s and 1980s were characterized by economic downturn, and significant social upheaval. Sports policy at the time was focused (largely) on social control. Since then, there have been emphases on elite sports development, sports as a mechanism for local economic growth, sport and health, and (most recently) sports for the empowerment of girls. The variation in sports policy goals across jurisdiction and time suggests that sports is used as a vehicle for addressing the prevalent issue of the day, at least at the national level. One should therefore expect the focus of sports policies (or what we call the *governance ends* associated with sports) to look different across places and periods. One would expect it to vary at a rate that correlates with the policy dynamism/disruption in different contexts (where some countries change policy directions more regularly than others, either because of shocks to the context or because of shifts in political or conceptual sensibilities).

3.1. Common goals, despite inter-temporal and inter-jurisdictional variation

Even with the observed variation in sports policy goals, we wondered if there were any goals (or ends) that governments typically and consistently target through sports. To assess this, and as already described, we assessed the policy goals embedded in sports-related policies in a sample of 40 national and 40 sub-national governments. For instance, we examined Latvia’s Sports Policy Guidelines, where objectives were “to develop individuals who are both healthy physically and mentally, and who united in national awareness, are capable of fulfilling life’s and work duties in their family, society and State.” Two key ‘governance ends’ related to sports policy were identified in such description: health and social inclusion and identity (including community engagement). A similar

sports policy in the Western Cape government (a province in South Africa) suggests that policy ‘uses sport’ to “improve the health and well-being of the nation” and to “maximize access” to society, “create a wining nation”, “attract tourists”, “promote peace and development” and “communicate environmental messages.” Out of such a list, we draw four primary sports policy goals, related to improvements in health, social inclusion and identity, growth (through tourism and other impacts), and environmental awareness.

The study pointed to three common *development through sports* goals, which stand out as the main ‘ends’ emphasized when sport is ‘used as a tool’ to advance other goals: social inclusion, economic growth, and health. We identified six other less dominant ‘development through sports’ goal areas, and a ‘sport for sport’s sake’ category (where we combined all references to support for individual athletes or teams in global competitions, for instance).⁷ Table 4.3 synthesizes data on the frequency of references to the dominant three goals areas, across the 80 governments. The table is followed by descriptions of all three goal areas.

Table 4.3. Common *development through sports* goal areas, or ‘governance ends’

Government level (number of entities represented)	% governments with some focus on Social Inclusion through Sports	% governments with some focus on Economic Growth through sports	% governments with some focus on Health through sports
National (40)	70%	57.5%	100%
Sub-national (40)	80%	75%	100%

Source and notes: Authors’ analysis, drawing on sports-related policy documents in 40 national, and 40 sub-national governments. Documents were collected online, from academic articles on the governments, governmental websites and websites that collated sports-related policies (like the United Nations, which does a lot of work coordinating sports policies for peace, which usually means a focus on inclusion and/or health, and the European Union, which collects sports policies for member nations and regional and local governments in member nations).

The first common goal area (or governance ‘end’) relates to *inclusion*, and reflects the (relatively) common focus national and sub-national governments have on using sports to foster citizen participation and engagement. This objective is also well represented as a focal point in the literature on sports policy (see, for instance, Bailey 2005, Collins 2014, Kelly 2011, McConkey et al. 2013, Murphy et al. 2008, and Vandemeerschen et al. 2015). Different governments target different kinds of inclusion, such that it is difficult to specify

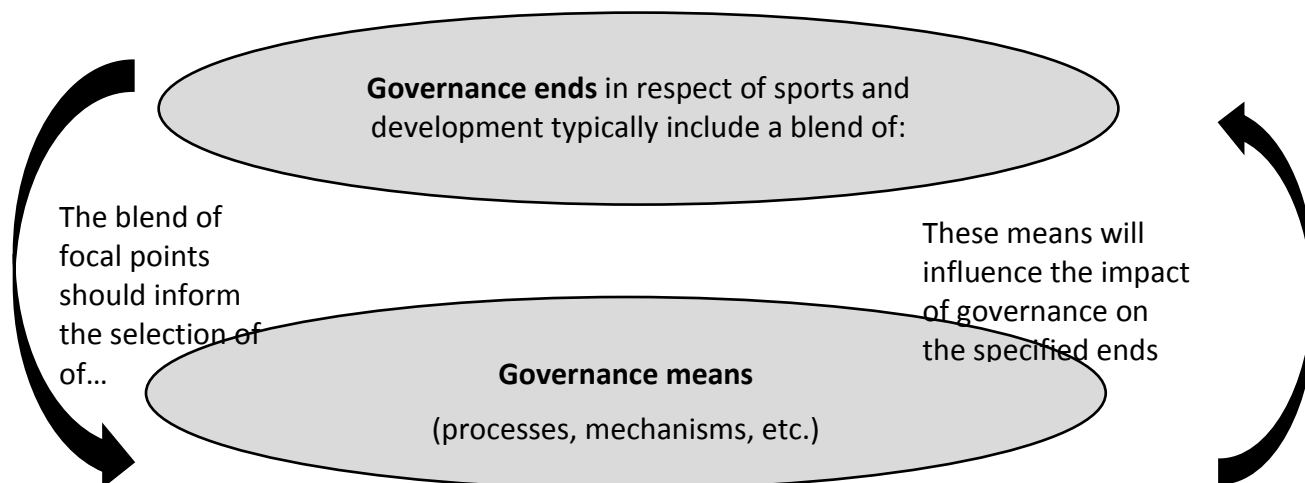
⁷ The additional ‘development through sports’ goal areas were environmental awareness and sustainable development, urban regeneration, diplomacy (and foreign aid), peace and reconciliation, crime and juvenile delinquency, and education. These were less dominant than the three shown in the table, but are referenced in various areas of the broader literature for further reference (See, for instance, Gratton and Henry (2002) and Jones (2001) on urban regeneration, for instance, and Nichols (2010) on sport and crime). The ‘sport for sport’s sake’ category included all references to support for elite sport where the focus was on ensuring competitiveness on the field (in the court). Interestingly, a vast majority of national governments emphasized this objective in their policies but fewer sub-national governments had such emphasis. We believe that the ‘sport for sport’s sake’ focus at national level is actually more about ensuring that a country identifies itself as successful (which is part of the ‘inclusion’ goal) and enjoys a reputation as a sporting hub (which could be related to the ‘economic growth’ goal) and where citizens are motivated to participate in sport (related to the ‘health’ goal).

exactly what this ‘end’ looks like across place and time. In some contexts, minority groups are targeted for inclusion (where the higher-order goal may be to foster common civic identity across minorities). In other contexts, disaffected youths may be targeted for inclusion (with a higher-order focus on promoting inclusion in these communities to address social tensions or violence). The most common inclusion focal points targeted through sports policy are, arguably, girls and women, disabled people, and seniors (often seen as those over 55). Governments typically employ policies to include these groups in society (especially in the last generation) and sports are seen as a way of fostering such inclusion.

The second common goal area relates to *growth*, and reflects the (relatively) common focus national and sub-national governments have on using sports to stimulate economic activity. This is reflected in the broader literature as well (see for instance Baade 1996; Boland and Matheson 2014; Coates and Humphreys 2003; Galily et al. 2002; Noll and Zimbalist 1997; Porter et al. 1999; Qiu et al. 2013). Once again, the specific focal points differ significantly across place and time. In some situations, for instance, governments try to promote professional sports leagues or clubs as potential vehicles for broader economic growth. They see growth potential in the economic activity of these leagues or clubs and also hope for potential spillovers from such (where having a professional sports presence may yield greater activity in areas like the hospitality industry or in broadcasting or advertising). In other situations, governments host mega-events (like the World Cup) in order to attract tourists or improve the business reputation of a region. Regardless of the specifics of the policies, we do see some common ‘ends’ governments emphasize when pursuing such goals. These include sports-related increases in business numbers, jobs, revenues and payrolls. Most national governments target these ends through some sports-related policy.

The third common goal area relates to *health*. It reflects the common focus national and sub-national governments have on using sports to promote healthy societies, decrease the prevalence of preventable diseases, and lower health costs. It is also discussed in the broader literature (examples include Eime et al. (2013), Khan et al. (2012), Oja et al. (2015), Pate et al. (2000), and Woods et al. (2015)). Once again, we see variations in the specific focal points of governments across space and time. Some governments may focus on specific health issues (like the prevalence of heart attacks or diabetes) when promoting a health through sports policy, for instance. Other governments may target specific population groups when promoting a health through sports policy (like seniors, where many more developed countries employ sports policies to combat diseases related to sedentary lifestyles, for instance). Similar to other goal areas there are broadly common ‘ends’ evident across contexts despite the variation. These tend to center on ensuring adults and children are not excessively overweight or obese, given assumed ties between sports and weight control. Figure 4.2 shows the three goal areas in an update of the ends-means governance diagram, where these are the three most common ‘ends’ governments focus on when promoting sports.

Figure 4.2. Common ends in an ends-means approach to governance, sports and development



Source: Authors' representation.

3.2. An evidence-based approach to governance ends in a development through sports agenda

The summary data in Table 4.3 helps to show that most governments do pursue sports policies and that these sports policies do have some prominent commonalities, at least in terms of the ends they aim to achieve. These are useful findings, and provide an initial answer to one of our research questions ("What are the ends that drive governments when pursuing development through sport?"). We followed this question up with the practical issue of measurement; can one actually employ data to assess whether these ends are being met? As discussed, this is akin to asking if one can construct an evidence-based view (through an indicator or dashboard) of the governance outcomes in the development through sports agenda.

We believe that this is possible, but faces the same limitation in addressing such challenge as was encountered in Russell, Barrios & Andrews (2016). Data are not always available and data are seldom the same across different contexts and even time periods. As a result of this limitation, we employed a similar strategy used in Guerra (2016): we focus our analysis on one context and in one time period to demonstrate what an evidence-based approach might look like, ideally paving the way for further research in the area.

We chose English local governments as the focal point of this work, given the availability of data on sports-related policies. These data are made available through *Sport England*, an organization that sits at the nexus of public, private and community bodies engaged in sports in England. It collects some data on sports-related policies in local authorities and collates other data (collected by other entities) to produce multi-dimensional profiles of sports in different local governments.⁸

⁸ See the profiles homepage at <http://localsportprofile.sportengland.org/Profiles.aspx>

The profiles offer data that reflect on all three common ‘ends’ discussed in accordance with Table 4.3. In relation to ‘inclusion, for instance, the profiles offer statistics showing the percentage participation of females, disabled people, and people over the age of 55. All three of these population groups are frequently targeted for inclusion in sports policies in England at the local and national level. These raw data are shown in the left columns of Table 4.4, for four local authorities (Hammersmith and Fulham (an authority in London), Plymouth, Birmingham, and Southampton). The raw data are useful in providing easily understood information for each authority. For instance readers can easily see that Hammersmith and Fulham (H+F) performs much better on two of the indicators (% female and % 55+ participation in sport), but Southampton performs best on the indicator related to % disabled participation.

The colored section to the right shows the relative performance in each category and local authority when compared with the national average (where this is the common benchmark employed in the analysis). The numbers in the table show the percentage over-or-under-performance for each authority and category, such that H+F performed 31.1% better on % female participation than the national average and 16.3 % better on % of 55+ participation, than the national average. This ‘relative performance’ presentation is even clearer in showing which authorities are doing well in respect of these common ends and which are not. It also shows the extent of the difference in performance (positive or negative) between the authority and the national average. We chose to color the blocks in green whenever the gap was positive and above 5 (such that the authority performed more than 5% better than the national average) and red whenever the gap was negative and lower than -5% (such that the authority performed more than 5% worse than the national average). All other blocks are orange, indicating average performance on the ‘ends’ in question.

Table 4.4. Data and local authority performance in respect of sports and ‘social inclusion’

Local authority	Hammersmith and Fulham	Plymouth	Birmingham	Southampton	Hammersmith and Fulham	Plymouth	Birmingham	Southampton
	Raw data				Relative performance (% above or below national average; where positive % is a ‘better than average’ performance)			
% female participation in sport	40.9	25.1	24.5	33.2	31.1	-19.5	-21.5	6.0
% disabled participation in sport	19.3	NA	15.7	19.7	12.2	NA	-8.7	14.5
% 55+ participation in sport	29.4	20.5	18.0	14.1	16.3	-1.9	-32.5	-13.8

Source: Authors’ analysis based on selected English Local Authorities, based on Sport England data. The % participation data emanates from the Active People Survey and captures the % of people aged 16+ in the different population groups who participated in at least one session of active sport per week. Green blocks indicate performance that is more than 5% better than the national average. Red blocks indicate performance that is more than 5% worse than national averages. Orange blocks indicate performance that is within 5% of national averages.

One could think of constructing an indicator that merges the different data points in Table

4.4, creating a single-number representation of ‘inclusion through sports’. This would require choosing how to weight each data point and then combining the data points according to some formula. If equal weight were given to all three dimensions and the raw data were used in calculating such an indicator, one would get ‘inclusion’ scores of 33.2 (H+F), 22.8 (Plymouth), 19.4 (Birmingham), and 22.3 (Southampton). These scores arguably represent an appropriate ordering of the four authorities given their raw data (where H+F undoubtedly scores better than Plymouth, which does better than Southampton, which scores above Birmingham). However they do not capture the differences shown in relative performance on all three dimensions (where Southampton performs better than Plymouth in scoring above national averages in two of three inclusion dimensions, and should thus be seen more positively).

This brief discussion reveals one of the limitations of working with indicators when reflecting on governance. Even in considering governance ‘ends’ (the goals of governance), one often deals with multi-dimensional concepts. Creating single-number indicators of these concepts leads to a real loss of information in such situations, and can result in arbitrary and even spurious representations of the evidence. The loss of information is particularly concerning when the goal of using evidence is to help policymakers improve their governance performance (as is the focus of the work in this paper). Given this, we believe that it is often better to work with multi-number dashboard-type data arrangements (like that in Table 4.4) than to construct more simplified (and seemingly attractive) single-number indicators.

We also believe that the ‘relative performance’ data (shown to the right in Table 4.4) is more useful than the raw data (shown to the left). This is simply because the ‘relative performance’ data have been commonly benchmarked, helping readers and policymakers interpret performance against some common standard. Instead of Birmingham’s policymakers asking if 24.5 % female participation is good or bad, for instance, they can see that it is 21.5% below the national average (comparatively poor, given the benchmark).

We employ a similar benchmarking process in respect of variables reflecting the ‘economic growth’ goals of development, or economic activity goals, through sports policies in English local governments. Five such variables are calculated based on the *Sport England* local authority profiles: a measure of the sport sector business stock as a percentage of total business stock;⁹ a measure of sports sector employment as a percentage of total employment;¹⁰ a measure of the sports sector Gross Value Added (GVA) as a percentage of

⁹ These data are drawn from the census of businesses in the United Kingdom (UK Business Counts). The specific measure captures the total sporting business stock, which is difficult to fully define given accessible descriptions. It appears to be an indicator that captures more businesses than one might find in a narrow measure of the sporting business stock (as reflected in clubs and teams in USA business census or even in spectator sports in the USA).

¹⁰ Data are drawn from Sport England’s economic value of sport local model, and capture ‘participation’ and ‘non-participation’ elements of the sports sector: “Participation is the sports goods and services produced to meet demand from people participating in sports. This includes the manufacture for example of tennis racquets, footballs, golf clubs, that are used for sport; the “added value” of the shops that sell these goods, and of the services and facilities that people use to participate in sports ... Non-participation covers the manufacture and retails of sports equipment and clothes that are not for sports use. It also includes the added value generated by sports clubs that generate income from selling tickets to spectators, TV income or

total Gross Value Added (GVA);¹¹ the proportion of sports GVA made up by non-participation GVA (predominantly from spectator-based enterprises like professional football clubs); and a measure of the growth in sport business stock (how the number of businesses in the sports sector has grown over the past three years, from 2013 to 2015). We use the data provided by Sport England, as-it-is-presented in local authority profiles, understanding that it captures a version of the sports economy that fits somewhere between our core sports and sports periphery groupings (discussed in Russell, Barrios & Andrews (2016)). The data are comparable in England but, as was the case in Russell, Tokman, Barrios & Andrews (2016), would not be easily comparable with other contexts (given different definitions employed in data collection and analysis).

The raw data show four local authorities in which sports businesses (establishments in other vernacular) account for 0.65% to 1.01% of the overall business stock (not a large amount). The share of employment by sports enterprises is higher than the relative share of sports business stock in all four cases, however (from 1.44% to 13.98%), which suggests that sports firms employ relatively more people than many other firms. Similarly, sports GVA accounts for more total GVA than one would expect given the share of firms (from 1.21% to 8%) in all four local authorities, suggesting that these firms produce more wage and profit value than many others.

The raw data patterns here echo those found across the United Kingdom generally, where sport business stock accounts for about 1.01% of total business stock, sports employment accounts for about 1.5% of total employment, and sports GVA accounts for about 1.3% of total GVA. When the four local authorities' raw data is benchmarked against these national averages, however, one starts to see variations in experience—with some authorities exhibiting relatively strong performance (like H+F, which seems to be a sports-economy powerhouse) and others turning 'red' in reflecting negative relative performance. Birmingham and Southampton appear to be particularly poor performers, but in different ways. The former is particularly weak (relatively) in terms of its sporting business stock and sporting employment, but it is about average in terms of sporting GVA. The latter has an average sporting employment share but is quite a bit below average when considering the share of sporting sector GVA.

sponsorship, the value added of sports gambling services and of businesses that produce sports television services.”

¹¹ Data are drawn from Sport England's economic value of sport local model. According to supporting documents for this model, “Gross Value Added (GVA) is the sum of wages paid to employees and profits generated by businesses operating in the sports sector within the local area. It is a measure of economic value.” The sports GVA figure captures ‘participation’ and ‘non-participation’ elements of the sports sector (as described in a prior footnote).

Table 4.5. Data and local authority performance in respect of sports and ‘economic activity’

Local authority	Hammersmith and Fulham	Plymouth	Birmingham	Southampton	Hammersmith and Fulham	Plymouth	Birmingham	Southampton
	Raw data				Relative performance (% above or below national average; where positive % is a ‘better than average’ performance)			
Sports business stock/total (%)	0.90	1.01	0.65	0.98	-0.12	-2.1	-36.5	-4.8
Sports employment/total (%)	13.98	1.70	1.44	1.51	162.00	11.7	-5.3	-0.5
Sports GVA/total (%)	8.00	1.54	1.28	1.21	502.00	16.1	-3.9	-8.8
Non-participation sports GVA/sports GVA	88.1%	28.1%	28.7%	29.1%	111.0	-32.5	-31.1	-30.3
Sports business stock growth	19.05	15.38	17.07	14.29	46.1	18.1	31.0	9.6

Source: Authors’ analysis based on selected English Local Authorities, based on Sport England data. Green blocks indicate performance that is more than 5% better than the national average. Red blocks indicate performance that is more than 5% worse than national averages. Orange blocks indicate performance that is within 5% of national averages.

As with the data in Table 4.4, the statistics in Table 4.5 offer policy-makers rich information to use in thinking about how development through sport policies are working in the four local authorities. The information also helps to determine what the sporting sectors in each locality actually look like (which is important in reflecting on potential policy responses):

- The sports sector is doing exceptionally well in fostering economic activity in F+H, for instance, where it appears to comprise a small number of sporting businesses that employ relatively high numbers of people and generate significant wages and profits. These entities are—in particular—professional football clubs (including Chelsea, Fulham, and Queens Park Rangers) and the Queens Tennis Club. The dominant role of these entities is shown in the fact that non-participation sports GVA (associated particularly with professional clubs) makes up 88% of the sports GVA in F+H.
- In contrast, non-participation sports GVA accounts for only 28% of total sports GVA in Birmingham, where the sports sector contributes less to the local economy. This is one reason why the local authority performs relatively poorly on these measures even though evidence shows a recent growth in sporting business stock. While evidence suggests that policymakers in Birmingham should try and improve this stock (given that the share of sports business stock in the city is more than 36% below national averages), any policy strategy should also focus on attracting businesses that produce non-participation sports GVA (like professional clubs and spectator-driven sports enterprises).

The evidence in Table 4.5 allows for more of these kinds of observations, which help policymakers understand their relative governance performance and how to improve it.

Similar observations can be made when considering performance with respect to the ‘health’ end of a development through sports agenda. Table 4.6 shows the relevant data with six variables for each local authority: the adult and youth obesity %, costs of inactivity, and % active and inactive adults.¹² As with prior tables, each variable is presented in both raw form (to the left of the table) and in ‘relative performance’ form (to the right of the table) after being benchmarked against national averages. All four governments have mixed performance when considering the right-hand-side. H+F, for instance, performs well on adult obesity statistics, has low health costs of inactivity relative to national averages, and has relatively high levels of active adults, but has a relatively high level of youth obesity. Plymouth has relatively good performance when it comes to adult and youth obesity levels and the % inactive adults. However, it also has relatively weaker performance when it comes to the % active adults.

Table 4.6. Data and local authority performance in respect of sports and ‘health’

Local authority	Hammersmith and Fulham	Plymouth	Birmingham	Southampton	Hammersmith and Fulham	Plymouth	Birmingham	Southampton
	Raw data				Relative performance (% above or below national average; where positive % is a ‘better than average’ performance)			
Adult obesity %	49.7	60.0	64.0	64.8	22.1	5.9	-0.3	-1.8
Youth obesity %	22.4	18.1	23.9	21.8	-17.3	5.2	-25.1	-14.1
Health costs of inactivity (000 pounds per 100,000 population)	1346	1831	2092	1426	25.9	-0.00	-15.1	21.5
% Active	64.2	50.9	54.1	54.8	12.6	-10.7	-5.1	-3.85
% Inactive	27.2	30.1	31.8	30.5	1.8	16.1	-14.8	-10.1

Source: Authors’ analysis based on selected English Local Authorities, based on Sport England data. Green blocks indicate performance that is more than 5% better than the national average. Red blocks indicate performance that is more than 5% worse than national averages. Orange blocks indicate performance that is within 5% of national averages.

These data can help authorities understand where they have problems reaching development through sports goals, and shape subsequent policy responses. For instance, the information could prompt the city government in Plymouth to think carefully about how its sports interventions shift more people out of the ‘inactive’ category to the ‘active’ category rather than trying to address obesity. In contrast, based on this analysis, the H+F policymakers could focus on targeting youth obesity in their sports programs, given that this is a relative weakness.

It should be noted that even these preliminary analyses should be interpreted with care. Given the precarious data availability, the indicators used in each of the analyses above represent primarily the information available. These should not be construed as the ‘most relevant’ or ‘main’ indicators for these type of analyses. Other contexts, or data sources,

¹² These variables are all common and self-explanatory, and drawn from the *Sport England* profiles.

might be able to provide a more expansive set of measures that in turn could facilitate a broader understanding of regional performance. This can serve as yet another cautionary note with respect to single-number where the issue of the representativeness of the available indicators would be compounded.

Section 4. The Governance ‘Means’ in a Development Through Sports Agenda

Such observations can help guide the choice of governance means in any given context and situation. In our approach, these means are the policies, processes, mechanisms, and tools governments are authorized to use on behalf of citizens. We hold that governments should select these means to further the specific ends citizens care about. Even more specifically, we argue that means should be selected or changed to address the ends where performance is lower than desired (and hence where a prioritized governance response is needed).

This is not the common approach to examining governance in development and runs counter to the thinking behind constructing single-number governance indicators. Such indicators usually blend data related to both ends and means, with a distinct bias towards presenting certain means as undisputed contributors to (and reflections of) ‘good’ governance. Consider, for instance, the Worldwide Governance Indicators indicator for ‘voice and participation’ shown in Table 4.1. Where data are fully available, this indicator combines over twenty pieces of information related to freedom of association, freedom of the press, freedom of political choice, availability and reliability of government financial reports, freedom of political movement, and beyond.¹³ Critics lament that such a large mix of topics undermines the validity of the final indicator (such that it is difficult to determine if and how it actually measures voice and accountability). Beyond this critique, the mix of what might be called ‘ends’ and ‘means’ in a single number leads to a loss of information about goals and tools. It could lead to some less-than-optimal results where means drive ends and not the other way around. For instance, a country could score well because it possesses a range of ‘good governance’ means—like regular government accounts—even if it performs poorly on the crucial ends—like freedom of political choice.

¹³ Data points that are included in this indicator include (but are not limited to): Freedom of elections at national level; Are electoral processes flawed? Do the representative Institutions (e.g. parliament) operate in accordance with the formal rules in force (e.g. Constitution)? Freedom of the Press (freedom of access to information, protection of journalists, etc.); Freedom of Association; Freedom of assembly, demonstration; Respect for the rights and freedoms of minorities (ethnic, religious, linguistic, immigrants...); Is the report produced by the IMF under Article IV published? Reliability of State budget (completeness, credibility, performance...); Reliability of State accounts (completeness, audit, review law...); Reliability of State-owned firms' accounts; Reliability of basic economic and financial statistics (e.g. national accounts, price indices, foreign trade, currency and credit, etc.); Reliability of State-owned banks' accounts; Is the State economic policy (e.g. budgetary, fiscal, etc.)... communicated? Is the State economic policy (e.g. budgetary, fiscal, etc.) publicly debated? Degree of transparency in public procurement; Freedom to leave the country (i.e. passports, exit visas, etc.); Freedom of entry for foreigners (excluding citizens of countries under agreements on free movement, e.g. Schengen Area, etc.); Freedom of movement for nationals around the world; Genuine Media Pluralism; Freedom of access, navigation and publishing on Internet. See information as presented on the WGI site (<http://info.worldbank.org/governance/wgi/pdf/va.pdf>).

We posit that the identification of means should follow the discussion about ends, as done in this paper with respect to the development through sports agenda.

This is also, incidentally, how early sports-related policymaking was done in the case study governments we examined. When these governments began setting sports policy (and for the initial decades of doing so), it was in response to specific challenges (deficient ends) and involved the specific selection of policy tools (means). In the United Kingdom, for instance, the 1960 Albermarle Committee was formed to investigate youth delinquency (a deficient end). It ultimately urged additional investments in sporting facilities and coaching as a means to combat this problem (given the argument that physical fitness could lead to attitudinal changes in youth). Also in 1960, a prominent report identified the ‘Wolfenden gap’—the fallout rate in sport between school and adulthood—and called for more organized sport as a means to address such deficient end.¹⁴ In Spain, sports policy was used to foster a centralized identity (and related political message) under the Franco regime; various means were employed for this (including support for national teams, the limited provision—in Madrid—of sports infrastructure, and more). When Franco’s regime was dissolved, in 1975, sports policies were driven by concerns over limited access (an inclusion ‘end’), which led to an expansive investment in new facilities in underserved regions and localities.¹⁵

The case studies helped us to identify a range of ‘means’ governments employ in pursuing development through sport. Most of these ‘means’ target improvements in specific aspects of sports activity as an intermediate social or behavioral objective. For instance, the Albermarle report noted above singled out the need for two means (sports facilities and coaching support) with the aim of improving youth participation (the intermediate objective) to ultimately achieve the larger development end (reduced youth delinquency).

In other examples, governments in Spain and South Africa used financial incentives, transport infrastructure provision, commitments to host ‘major events’, and more to attract sports-related business activity (the intermediate objective) and ultimately foster economic growth (the development end). The French government provides facilities, coaching support, targeted organized sports activities (through clubs, educational institutions, and beyond), and additional means to promote civic participation in sports (especially with targeted groups) and ultimately improve health and inclusion.

4.1. Common means, despite inter-temporal and inter-jurisdictional variation

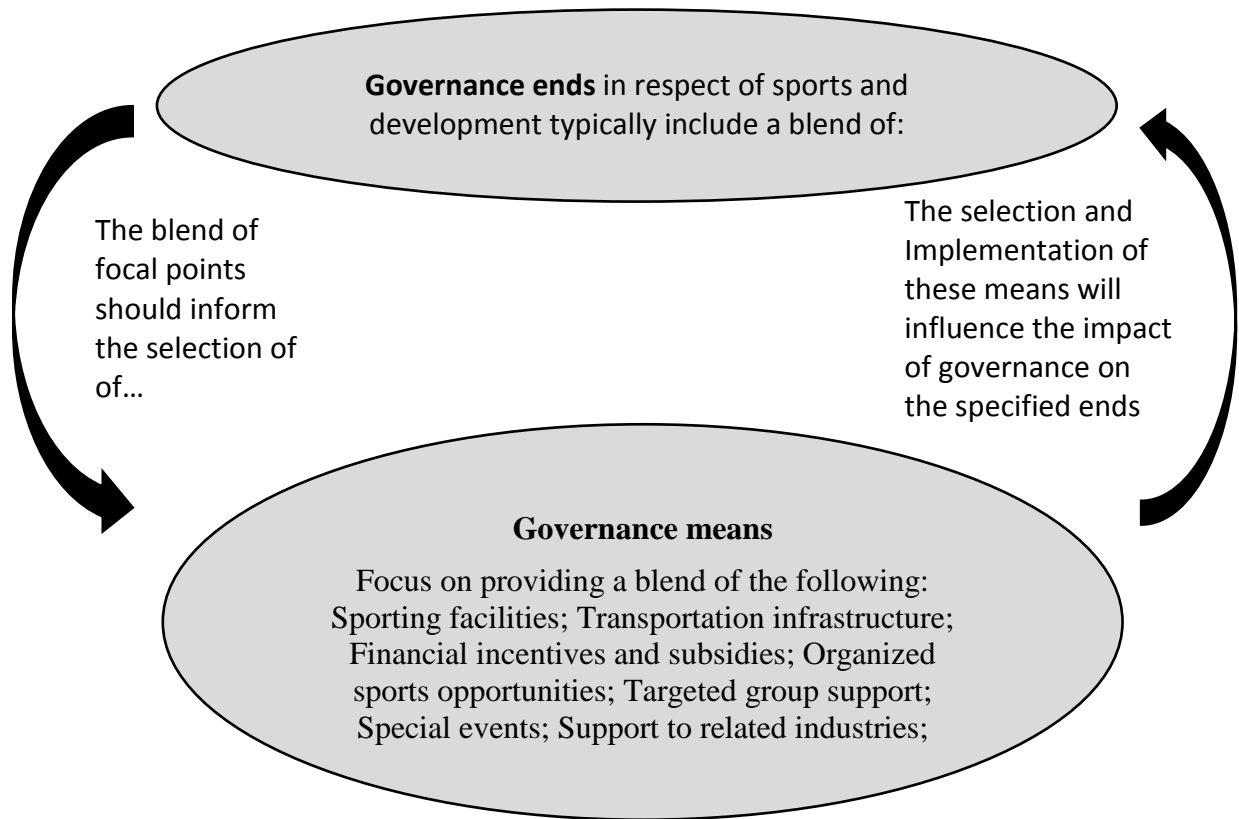
The case study examples helped us identify these kinds of examples, where specific means were chosen to address specific ends in the development through sports agendas. They informed a list of common means used in promoting development through sports, populating the following eight categories, where governments support the provision of: Sporting facilities; Transportation infrastructure; Financial incentives and subsidies; Organized sports opportunities; Targeted group support (programs in schools, elderly communities, at-risk-groups); Special events (one-off and repeat events); Support to

¹⁴ Sport and the Community: The Report of the Wolfenden Committee on Sport.

¹⁵ This policy was so extensive that, in 1984, 52% out of the 37,698 existing facilities around the country had been built between 1975 and 1984 (Naudí, 2011, p. 387).

related industries (especially hospitality and tourism); Training support (sponsoring coaching programs and such); and Volunteerism (where programs encourage and facilitate opportunities for volunteering in sports). They are shown in Figure 4.3, an updated version of the governance ends-means approach described in Figure 4.1 and Figure 4.2.

Figure 4.3. Common means in an ends-means approach to governance, sports and development



Source: Authors' representation.

We did not find these means in place in all of the case study governments all of the time, but see them as a potential tool-box from which means are commonly drawn. As with the discussion about governance ends (or goals), we asked whether it was possible to determine where and when the different tools were used—and why different tools seemed to be used in different places. To address this question, we examined the ‘means’ most commonly employed in the policy strategies in the 40 national and 40 sub-national governments discussed in Table 4.2 (and described in the research methods section). This was done by identifying the different policy mechanisms in one of the nine categories each government mentioned explicitly in its sports policy, and noting which policy end (or goal area) the mechanism was targeting. For instance, we examined Dubai’s sports policy and noted the focus on (inter alia) hosting special events and providing transportation infrastructure and sporting facilities to promote growth. These objectives were explicitly linked to expanding business opportunities and employment. In another example, Taipei’s city government used (among other means) organized sports (like road runs and organized club opportunities), training support (including provision of coaches), and targeted group

support (to disabled groups, for instance) to promote health and inclusion.

As noted, our analysis of these policy documents was manual and conducted by a single researcher (and is hence open to concerns about reliability and validity). Even noting these concerns, we feel the analysis is useful in providing a descriptive view into the means that governments commonly employ when pursuing different ends in a development through sports agenda. Figure 4.4 and Figure 4.5 show this for national and sub-national governments. The three common ends are shown at the foot of each figure, and connection lines illustrate which means were associated with which ends in policy documents (with numbers indicating how frequently the means were associated with the ends, across all governments, in percentages).

Figure 4.4. Common means adopted by national governments, and connections to ends

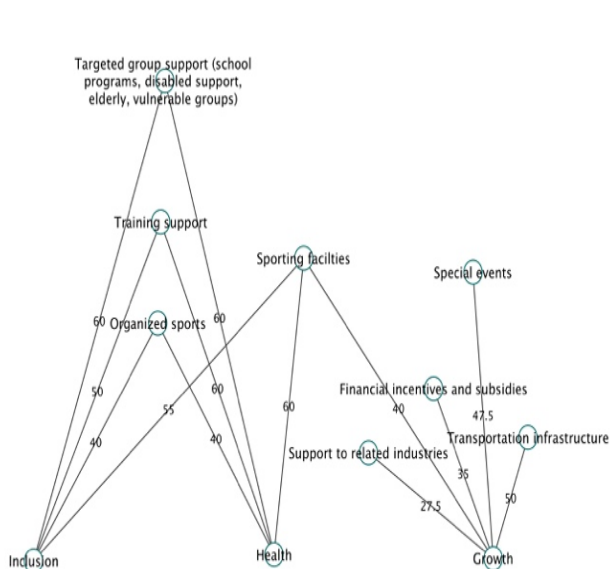
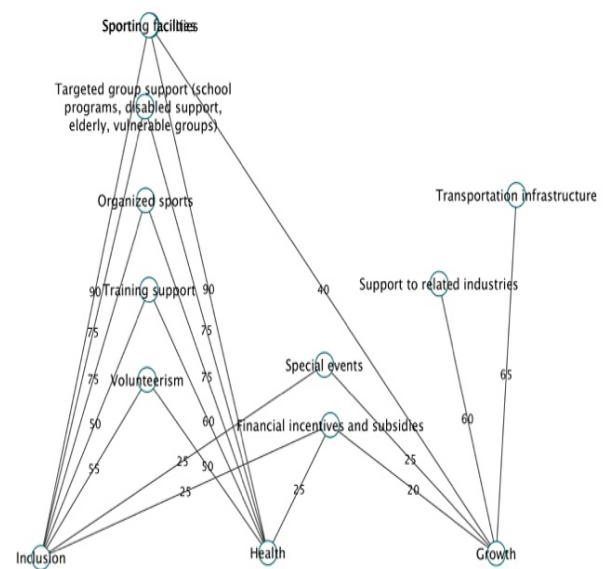


Figure 4.5. Common means adopted by sub-national governments, and connections to ends



Source (for both): Authors' analysis of sports policy documents in 40 national and 40 sub-national governments.

Our main observation centers on means most commonly used by governments that try to impact development through sports. The number one 'means' is the provision of sporting facilities (used by about half of the national governments and 90% of the sub-national governments).¹⁶ Programs targeting specific groups were the second most common category (and actually accounted for the most interventions at national government level). This category includes programs to promote sports at schools (through national sponsorship of physical education classes, for instance) or to promote sports amongst the elderly or other at-risk or otherwise-targeted groups (like girls or women). In a tie for the third most common intervention, we found organized sports and training support. Organized interventions included government initiatives to host events like community

¹⁶ The emphasis on facilities as a policy tool is common (Crompton 1995, Houlihan and White 2002, Hylton 2013).

road races, or support to clubs and league structures. Training support included programs aimed at providing coaching to communities.

A second observation centers on the different means associated with different ends. It appears that a large number of common tools are used by both national and sub-national governments in addressing inclusion and health related issues. Four sets of means were employed in this respect in national governments (targeted group support, training support, organized sports, and sporting facility provision). Sub-national governments used mechanisms and tools in these four 'means' categories as well, with added means like 'supporting volunteerism' and 'providing financial incentives and subsidies'. In contrast, a different set of means are employed to impact growth ends. These include support to related industries (like tourism), and the provision of transportation infrastructure (whether roads or airports or train stations), and hosting of special events (like mega-events, which are predominantly pursued as part of national government growth agendas).¹⁷ In contrasting the 'means' related to these different ends, it appears that the 'growth through sports agenda' involves more expensive 'big ticket items' than the 'health and inclusion through sports' agendas. This could explain why governments pursue growth through sports less frequently than they pursue the other ends through sports (as shown in Table 4.3).

There are many other potential observations one could draw from the two figures. An important note of caution is required, however, for readers who might deduce that the kinds of means shown actually impact associated ends. The figures show which means governments employ when tackling specified ends, not the effectiveness of means in addressing such ends. As such, the figures do not offer evidence of the effectiveness of the different policy mechanisms on policy goals in the sports and development through sports arena. This evidence is actually notoriously weak, given significant problems in doing research into these matters. Kokolakis et al. (2014, 153) cite a number of these challenges in respect of studies examining just the links between contextual and policy factors and participation in sports:

“Due to the different approaches used, caution should be exercised in any comparison of determinants of sports participation. Firstly, the listing of sporting activities varies from one study to another and there is no common definition agreed upon participation in the literature. Secondly, the sports participation variable is measured in various ways: participation or not, frequency and intensity in sports participation, time spent in participation, etc. Thirdly, most studies use secondary data sources with a long sample size while other studies develop ad-hoc surveys with primary data ... Fourthly, the comparability of estimates from different statistical methods may be difficult in both sign and magnitude.”

The difficulties identified by Kokolakis et al. are present in the vast set of studies that try to assess the impact of other policy means on key objectives in this development through sports arena. This includes studies on the links between hosting mega-events and

¹⁷ National and sub-national governments also pursued growth through sports by expanding sporting facilities, and providing financial incentives and subsidies (two means employed to address inclusion and health matters as well).

economic growth (as explored at length in Barrios, Russell & Andrews (2016)), for instance, and between hosting mega-events and sports participation and inclusion (which was a link that we found at least eight sub-national governments were assuming) (Taks et al. 2013, Veal et al. 2012). The research difficulties also make it difficult to ascertain whether the provision of sports facilities positively impacts participation in sports (Wicker et al. 2013), or improves sports participation by youth and consequent children's health (Eime et al. 2013, Mauer-Vakil et al. 2014, Woods et al. 2015). These difficulties also limit our ability to draw on past studies and determine whether support for organized sports (one of the key 'means' shown in Figure 4.4 and Figure 4.5) actually leads to greater sports participation or yields inclusion and health benefits (as many governments assume) (Hebert et al. 2015).

Unfortunately, we could go on for pages reflecting on the limited evidence about causal (or other) connections between policy means and ends in the sports-development arena. These limits require governments to be circumspect when choosing any policy in this arena. Governments should be clear about the assumptions and expectations they have when doing so. Barrios, Russell & Andrews (2016), illustrate such an approach in reflecting on the logic and sense of supporting mega-events, providing an example of how governments should reflect on policy choices. When reflecting in this manner, we also recommend that governments recognize the impact of contextual variables on potential means-end links in the sports development arena. Research suggests that sports-related activities are commonly affected by economic, geographic, and demographic factors. These could influence whether a 'development through sports' policy makes sense in a specific context, and could also help in choosing the ends and means in such.

Given space constraints, it is impossible to go into full detail on these contextual factors in this paper, but it is at least necessary to reflect on the variables that stand out as important to consider in supporting sports as a mechanism for promoting development. Guerra (2016) notes, for instance, that the intensity of 'core sports' in municipalities in Mexico is associated to access to international airports, the level of equality in the municipality, the size of the workforce, the average salary of the workforce and education. Governments pursuing 'growth through sports' should consider such variables in determining whether sports could be a viable avenue through which to pursue broader development policies (given that poorly suited contexts may simply not be attractive for sports-businesses). Beyond this, various studies note that a selection of contextual variables influence the potential participation of citizens in sports, which governments should consider if they intend to pursue health or inclusion through sports. These include education, income, economic freedom, the proportion of people living in urban areas, and the percentage of students in the broader population (all of which are positively associated with sports participation) (Downward and Rasciute 2011; Humphreys et al. 2012; Kokolakis et al. 2014; Scheerder and Vos 2011; Wicker et al. 2009)

4.2. An evidence-based view of governance means in a development through sports agenda

Governments should consider these contextual factors (and others) when promoting sports—and especially when promoting sports for development. The focus of this paper is

not on these factors, however, but rather on the ‘means’ governments can employ in pursuing development through sports. The discussion so far has helped to address the conceptual question asked in earlier sections: What are the means that governments use when pursuing development through sport (the processes, mechanisms, and such that governments are typically authorized to use in such policy regimes)? We have not, however, addressed the more practical question that was asked (at least in respect of governance ‘means’): Is it possible to provide an evidence-based view into the progress of a *development through sport* policy regime, and assess the quality of governance in it?

We address this question here. As in the discussion of governance ‘ends’, we use data from English Local Authorities to demonstrate what this evidence-based approach might look like, drawing information from the *Sport England* profiles in four of these authorities. The information is targeted to reflect on the way these authorities are currently using the different kinds of ‘means’ commonly employed to promote sports and to use sports in supporting broader development objectives (as shown in Figure 4.3, Figure 4.4, and Figure 4.5). As with the analysis of ‘ends’, two types of information are shown in Table 4.7: the raw data (to the left) and relative performance (to the right), where the raw data are compared with national averages. Green blocks to the right point to instances where authorities perform better than average in providing ‘means’. Red blocks indicate the opposite, and orange blocks suggest average performance.

Table 4.7. Governance ‘means’ in place in different English local authorities

Local authority	Hammersmith and Fulham	Plymouth	Birmingham	Southampton	Hammersmith and Fulham	Plymouth	Birmingham	Southampton
	Raw data				Relative performance (% above or below national average; where positive % is a ‘better than average’ performance)			
Sporting facilities								
Population/facilities	658	623	810	776	5.9	10.9	-15.7	-10.8
% Public access facilities	89	82.7	74.3	83	7.1	0	-10.5	-0.1
% Private access facilities	11	17.3	25.7	17	-34.9	2.4	52.1	0.5
% Local Authority owned facilities	32	27	24	33	10.3	-6.9	-17.2	13.8
% Private owned facilities	33	13	15	18	153.8	0	15.4	38.5
% Community owned facilities	1	0	2	0	-66.6	-100	-33.3	-1.0
% Education owned facilities	16	49	48	51	-62.7	13.9	18.6	11.6
Transportation infrastructure	NI	NI	NI	NI	NI	NI	NI	NI
Financial incentives and subsidies	NI	NI	NI	NI	NI	NI	NI	NI
Organized sports opportunities								
% Accessing Organized competition	15	26.1	9.2	14	12.7	96.2	-30.8	5.2

Local authority	Hammersmith and Fulham	Plymouth	Birmingham	Southampton	Hammersmith and Fulham	Plymouth	Birmingham	Southampton
	Raw data				Relative performance (% above or below national average; where positive % is a 'better than average' performance)			
Population/clubs (000)	14.97	3.6	6.4	5.7	-281.2	8.3	-63.7	-46.3
% Club members	29.8	18.5	16.8	19.5	17.5	-2.7	-3.6	8.1
% Participating in sports	42.1	34.8	34.5	38.7	16.6	16.0	-31.4	-0.6
Targeted group support	NI	NI	NI	NI	NI	NI	NI	NI
Special events	NI	NI	NI	NI	NI	NI	NI	NI
Support to related industries	NI	NI	NI	NI	NI	NI	NI	NI
Training support								
% Accessing sport tuition assistance	18.2	18.1	10.7	15.5	16.6	16	-31.4	-0.6
Volunteerism								
% Volunteers involved in sports	9.4	21.4	8.9	10.6	-25.9	68.5	-29.9	-16.5
Solicited feedback								
% Satisfied with sports services	48.9	61.9	61.8	65.3	-20.9	0	0	5.7

Source: Authors' analysis of data provided in Sport England Local Authority Profiles. Green blocks indicate performance that is more than 5% better than the national average. Red blocks indicate performance that is more than 5% worse than national averages. Orange blocks indicate performance that is within 5% of national averages.

The first observation we make about Table 4.7 relates to the obvious gaps in data on 'means'. The Sport England profiles offer no information on important 'means' in local authorities like transportation infrastructure, financial incentives and subsidies, targeted group support, special events, and support to related industries. The mechanisms and 'means' that would fall into these broad categories are not captured as part of the assessment of sports-related policy interventions by Sport England (which provides as broad a set of data as we have been able to find anywhere). This indicates either (or both) the difficulty of measuring 'means' in these categories or a failure to consider these as important 'means' categories for local authorities trying to promote development through sport.

The second observation is that all local authorities have mixed performance. This matters, because any single-number indicator would average out performance and result in a loss of information about the varied realities. This mixed performance also matters in pointing to the importance of not over-emphasizing any specific 'means' measure as the generic focus of policy. Governance reforms in other domains frequently emphasize such generic 'means' as solutions, even though variations in realities across countries indicate this is a spurious prescription (Andrews 2008). The Doing Business Indicators advocate that it is inherently 'good' and important to process small business license requests quickly, for instance, even though countries like Sweden take time over these requests to vet the small business

proposals (which research shows leads to a higher level of small business survival than one finds in place like the United States). Consider how this issue would play out if generic sports policies in England advocated having sporting facilities owned by educational institutions, and low ratios of people to clubs, and high levels of volunteerism. Hammersmith and Fulham (H+F) would look like the laggard in the group of four shown above, even though it performs well in providing most other means.¹⁸

This point is probably best made when reflecting on the final line in Table 4.7, which relates to the ‘solicited feedback’ at local authority level (and the proportion of citizens who are satisfied with sports services). This is the kind of indicator many governments are encouraged to collect, to evaluate performance and guide future decisions. H+F performs significantly worse than the other three localities on this measure, even though it performs better than the other three in providing most of the measured means and in producing most of the ends (as shown in past tables). The low satisfaction rate could well reveal the high level of demand for sports activity in H+F, and be an indicator of the large contextual space for pursuing sports-related policies. In contrast, the higher satisfaction rates in Birmingham and Southampton (which co-exist with weaker provision of ‘means’ and performance on ‘ends’) could indicate weaker demand and a less-open context in which to pursue sports-related policies.

The point is that one can tell a more textured story about sports-related policy when viewing all of these data points together, which is far superior to the simplified story-line any individual data point (and single-number indicator) allows. One needs a nuanced and textured view of the ‘means’ landscape in this arena, given the many means governments can use, and the challenge of choosing specific means to advance specific ends.

Section 5. Concluding Thoughts, and a Development Through Sports Governance Dashboard

Governance is all about identifying ends and then selecting means to meet such ends. This paper offers a way of thinking about both processes for governments considering pursuing development through sports. Based on blended research incorporating case-based analysis and the assessment of contents in 80 government policy documents, the paper points to three major ‘ends’ in this domain (inclusion, growth, and health) and nine categories of means (where governments provide, or facilitate the provision of, sporting facilities, transportation infrastructure, financial incentives and subsidies, organized sports opportunities, targeted group support, special events, support to related industries, training support, and volunteerism).

The research shows that governments commonly pursue the three ends through sports-related policies that feature at least one of the nine categories to do so. This leaves policymakers with conceptual clarity as to ‘why’ they might choose to pursue a

¹⁸ Nichols and James (2008) address a similar issue in their article on the varied impacts of using clubs engagement as a policy vehicle. The authors note that ‘one size does not fit all’ with this policy means, advising that the impact of this means depends on contextual factors (like ‘who’ is involved in club structures). Others making similar arguments include May et al. (2013) and Misener et al. (2013).

‘development through sports’ agenda, and ‘what’ they might do in such. We build on this conceptual understanding by offering an evidence-based approach to think about and evaluate this kind of agenda. We do not build an indicator of governance in this domain because of conceptual and empirical limitations (there are too many dimensions to consider, for instance, and too much information to lose in crafting a single-number indicator). Instead, we propose using dashboards to present data reflecting progress in meeting key policy ends, and in employing specific policy means. This dashboard can help any government policymaker assess the quality of governance in any ‘development through sports’ agenda. To emphasize the point, we view such governance as the exercise of authority through selected means by governmental authorities to meet selected ends that citizens care about.

The paper has thus far proposed elements of the dashboard reflecting performance on ends and means. Data from English Local Authorities are used to populate these dashboards, with specific metrics included as these relate to that context. Different measures could be used to capture the ends and means in different ways in different contexts, if these ends and means were vastly different.

For instance, we use data on the number of sports-related businesses (sports business stock) to reflect on progress and performance in using sport to promote growth. This is a narrow measure that may not capture the intended impact of a broader policy intervention in other contexts (where, for instance, governments target growth in selected tourism businesses through support to sports, or where governments expect spillovers from enhanced sports activity in areas like housing development, restaurant sales, or even game-day retail sales (Andrews 2015)).

Beyond this, we have used data from the Sport England local authority profiles to show what policy means are employed in different authorities. Other governments may use different measures of concepts like ‘volunteerism’ or the number of facilities provided in a locality.

We find it attractive that the dashboard approach proposed allows context-specific adjustments like these—where governments pursuing ‘development through sport’ can build on and through the basic framework (of the three key ‘ends’ and nine proposed ‘means’ categories) we provide. This framework is shown in Dashboard 1 figure that follows, which combines the ‘ends’ and ‘means’ views shown thus far, for one local authority (Hammersmith and Fulham).

Dashboard 1. The Fulham and Hammersmith ‘development through sports’ dashboard

1. Governance ends—goals and objectives of development through sports

Inclusion		Growth		Health	
Relative performance (% above or below national average; where positive % is a ‘better than average’ performance)					
% female participation in sport	31.1	Sports business stock/total (%)	-0.12	Adult obesity %	22.1
% disabled participation in sport	12.2	Sports employment/total (%)	162.00	Youth obesity %	-17.3
% 55+ participation in sport	16.3	Sports GVA/ total (%)	502.00	Health costs of inactivity (000 pounds per 100,000 population)	25.9
		Non-participation sports GVA/ sports GVA	111.0%	% Active	12.6
		Sports business stock growth	46.1	% Inactive	1.8

2. Governance means—mechanisms and tools for development through sports

1. Sporting facilities		3. Financial incentives and subsidies		6. Special events	
Population/facilities	5.9	No information		No information	
% Public access facilities	7.1	4. Organized sports opportunities		7. Support to related industries	
% Private access facilities	-34.9	% Accessing Organized competition	12.7	No information	
% Local Authority owned facilities	10.3	Population/clubs (000)	-281.2	8. Training support	
% Private owned facilities	153.8	% Club members	17.5	% Accessing sport tuition assistance	16.6
% Community owned facilities	-66.6	% Participating in sports	16.6	9. Volunteerism	
% Education owned facilities	-62.7	5. Targeted group support		% Volunteers involved in sports	-25.9
2. Transportation infrastructure		No information		Solicited feedback	
No information				% Satisfied with sports services	-20.9

Source: Authors’ analysis of data provided in Sport England Local Authority Profiles. Green blocks indicate performance that is more than 5% better than the national average. Red blocks indicate performance that is more than 5% worse than national averages. Orange blocks indicate performance that is within 5% of national averages.

No information	Weak performance relative to national averages	Average performance relative to national averages	Strong performance relative to national averages
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In combining the ends and means evidence, this full dashboard empowers policymakers with a view of both their performance on selected goals and their use of selected tools in achieving such goals. This view is useful in identifying relative strengths and weaknesses, as well as areas where policy might be tweaked in future. The Hammersmith and Fulham authorities might look at this dashboard with general satisfaction given the many green

blocks, for instance, but could also see clearly where their performance lags behind national averages. Given that all the data are shown, they can try to build a story about their performance—or about potential ‘next steps’ in improving performance. For example, they may ask if improving volunteerism can assist in efforts to address obesity in children (given that both are areas where they have weaknesses).

We offer the dashboard with missing information in it to also make policymakers aware of the data they do not currently have. This could potentially also get them thinking about policy means they are not currently employing. In the case above, for instance, there is no information on targeted group support which would include physical education programs in schools. It would be interesting if authorities gathered information on these programs, especially given the relatively high child obesity statistics, or initiated such programs (as novel policy interventions they did not previously use as means or track as policy efforts).

The following Dashboard 2 provides a similar holistic view of the situation in Birmingham. There are many more ‘red’ blocks in this dashboard, indicating major performance deficiencies in terms of governance ends and means. This is not all bad news, as policymakers can start to reflect on the goals they care about the most (or where they are furthest behind national averages—like the participation of people over 55 and the size of the sports business stock as a percentage of total business (and the size of non-participation sports GVA, reflecting the presence of spectator sports businesses). Similarly, policymakers can reflect on the ‘means’ that may be open to more aggressive use (where they lag behind national averages). These include fostering organized competition and supporting sport tuition assistance. The dashboard raises questions about such ‘next steps’ that could drive policy discussions.

Dashboard 2. The Birmingham ‘development through sports’ dashboard

1. Governance ends—goals and objectives of development through sports

Inclusion		Growth		Health	
Relative performance (% above or below national average; where positive % is a ‘better than average’ performance)					
% female participation in sport	-21.5	Sports business stock/total (%)	-36.5	Adult obesity %	-0.3
% disabled participation in sport	-8.7	Sports employment/total (%)	-5.3	Youth obesity %	-25.1
% 55+ participation in sport	-32.5	Sports GVA/ total (%)	-3.9	Health costs of inactivity (000 pounds per 100,000 population)	-15.1
		Non-participation sports GVA/ sports GVA	-31.1%	% Active	-5.1
		Sports business stock growth	31.0	% Inactive	-14.8

2. Governance means—mechanisms and tools for development through sports

1. Sporting facilities		3. Financial incentives and subsidies		6. Special events	
Population/facilities	-15.7	No information		No information	
% Public access facilities	-10.5	4. Organized sports opportunities		7. Support to related industries	
% Private access facilities	52.1	% Accessing Organized competition	-30.8	No information	
% Local Authority owned facilities	-17.2	Population/clubs (000)	-63.7	8. Training support	
% Private owned facilities	15.4	% Club members	-3.6	% Accessing sport tuition assistance	-31.4
% Community owned facilities	-33.3	% Participating in sports	-31.4	9. Volunteerism	
% Education owned facilities	18.6	5. Targeted group support		% Volunteers involved in sports	-29.9
2. Transportation infrastructure		No information		Solicited feedback	
No information				% Satisfied with sports services	0

Source: Authors' analysis of data provided in Sport England Local Authority Profiles. Green blocks indicate performance that is more than 5% better than the national average. Red blocks indicate performance that is more than 5% worse than national averages. Orange blocks indicate performance that is within 5% of national averages.

No information	Weak performance relative to national averages	Average performance relative to national averages	Strong performance relative to national averages
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As already noted, any evidence-based policy conversation should be informed by contextual data, especially related to factors we know influence the sports potential in any government. It would be interesting to see what a third 'contextual factors' section would look like in the dashboard, and how it might help policymakers interpret some of the patterns in the ends and means narrative.

Whatever the narrative in individual governments, this paper can make three key conclusions about governance and development through sports. First, governments across the world are pursuing development through sports, in some way or another. This makes the current work relevant and applicable to a host of policymakers. Second, there are common ends and means governments pursue and employ when engaging in 'development through sports' initiatives. This paper helps to identify both categories for policymakers to reference when considering what to pursue in such an agenda and how to precisely pursue it. Third, one can use data to provide an evidence-based view on this kind of agenda, with the dashboard provided as an example. The view is not a simple one, given the multi-dimensional nature of any 'development through sports' agenda, and policymakers should not expect this kind of tool to provide a 'magic bullet' that makes policymaking easy. Rather, the evidence in this kind of tool can help policymakers reflect on their performance, past assumptions about policy, and future opportunities.

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